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ABSTRACT

This paper examines some of the South Western Pacific Island nations and considers their economic and social development and the ways in which education can play a role in future development. Excluding Australia, Papua New Guinea, and New Zealand, the south-western part of the Pacific is home to 20 small nations. This paper focuses on five of those nations: (1) Fiji; (2) Solomon Islands; (3) Vanuatu; (4) Tonga; and (5) Cook Islands. Smaller island countries are still heavily reliant upon external aid to support their development. Efforts toward development are being addressed at the local and community levels with the aid of small grants from the International Community Education Association (ICEA). Aid is based upon the belief that people in their local communities can acquire the confidence, knowledge, and skills to meet their needs and solve their problems with a minimum of external support. An appendix lists some of the small grants of the ICEA in the Pacific Region 1990-1994. (EH)

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Educational, Social and Financial Development in Communities in the South Pacific

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The past ten years has seen a massive push towards economic development, nowhere more so than in many of the underdeveloped nations. The needs of communities, individual nations and whole regions in underdeveloped parts of the world have changed dramatically from one of largely subsistence living to the need for the development of an economic base, both nationally and locally. This paper looks at some of the South Western Pacific Island nations and considers their economic and social development and the ways in which education can play a role in future development. Not counting Australia, Papua New Guinea and New Zealand, each of which has a population base in excess of 3 million people, the south-western part of the Pacific is home to 20 small nations. This paper will consider five of those nations. The five countries, their populations, population density and percentage of their people who live in rural communities are listed in Table 1. As a means of comparison, Australia has over seventeen and a half million people, with a population density of about six per square kilometre. In Australia 40% of the population live in two cities (Sydney and Melbourne) and more than 60% live in one of the eight capital cities.

Table 1: Pacific Island Countries:
Demographic Information

Country	Population	Year	Density per sq. km	Percentage of Rural Dwellers
Fiji	725,000	1987	40	41.0
Solomon Islands	290,000	1987	11	90.8
Vanuatu	145,000	1987	12	81.0
Tonga	98,000	1987	136	79.7
Cook Islands	17,100	1987	71	70.2

Much of the past economic development in Pacific island nations was conducted by people from the countries giving aid dollars rather than by people from the country itself. In recent times there has been a greater role played by the governments of the individual countries as they have tried to gain financial independence in their own right. This has meant that a substantial proportion of the assistance money provided by external countries is now directed towards those areas that are seen by the local governments as enabling their countries to take full control of their economic affairs. In the Pacific, the larger the population of the country, the more able it is to generate its own economy. The smaller island nations are still heavily reliant upon external aid to support their development. For the smaller countries such as Niue (population 2,500) or Tuvalu (population 8,500), that have little in the way of agriculture or tourism, foreign aid can be as high as 84% or 85% of the total budget for the year. In fact the annual budget of my University, Monash, with student number of about 37,000 is higher than the gross domestic product of the Solomon Islands, with a current population approaching 350,000. Table 2 indicates the levels of overseas aid as a proportion of the gross domestic product of the five case study countries.

Table 2: Pacific Island Countries:
Economic Information

Country	Year	GDP AU$M	Total Aid AU$M	Aid as % of GDP
Fiji	1987	1,514.1	24.6	1.6
Solomon Islands	1987	209.6	35.2	17.0
Vanuatu	1987	177.6	36.1	20.0
Tonga	1985	81.6	18.4	23.0
Cook Islands	1986	50.2	13.8	27.0

The average per capita GDP in the South Pacific can range from somewhere between about $400 US in some very poor countries (such as Kiribati and Tuvalu) to $2000 US in others more well off. The range of incomes occurs largely because of the tourist trade and the ability to grow and sell agricultural products. In the weaker countries tourism is very small and there is largely subsistence agriculture rather than exports. When we consider that most of these averages would be include salaries which are biased towards those in business or Government, then it is obvious that the actual incomes of villagers is very small. Table 3 indicates the average per capita GDP for the case study countries.

Table 3: Pacific Island Countries:
Per Capita GDP

Country	Per capita Income (US $)	Year
Fiji	1460	1987
Solomon Islands	502	1987
Vanuatu	858	1987
Tonga	605	1985
Cook Islands	2043	1986

In many of the South Pacific countries, formal education is something that most people hope for, but few receive. In most cases, the people of the villages build their own primary (elementary) schools, but the governments have difficulty paying the salary of the number of teachers required. This can sometimes lead to schools being staffed by untrained teachers or, in some cases, being shut down because the government can't afford the staff salaries. Table 4 indicates the number of education institutions in each of the countries. School provision is mostly at the elementary level, where the proportion of schools to total population varies from 1 school to every 500 people in Vanuatu to 1 school to every 1100 people in Fiji. It can be seen from Table 4 that Fiji, as the largest of the countries has the most comprehensive education system, although Tonga seems to put more effort into education on a per capita basis. At the other end of the spectrum the Solomons Islands has the least developed system, particularly after elementary level education. A further difficulty for many of the countries is that those who are given the opportunity to further their education comes from defined groups within the countries and these people are not always selected on merit. Although money is now being directed towards training people in financial and business management in formal education settings, in the main those selected for these activities are people who are already in paid positions and live in the few large cities where governments are based. In the Solomon Islands, of the 21 graduates between 1971 and 1982, 15 worked in government agencies (or were politicians) and 4 were principals or teachers. People in remote communities had little chance to be selected for higher education unless they move to the city and become involved in business or government.

Table 4: Pacific Island Countries:
Number of Education Institutions

Country	Primary	Secondary	% Govt schools	Technical	Tertiary
Fiji	672	140	4.1	40	10
Solomon Islands	478	20	20.0	-	1
Vanuatu	291	18	71.7	2	-
Tonga	113	44	68.0	10	3
Cook Islands	18	17	86.5	1	1

Not every child goes to school, as some of the more remote communities do not have schools at all. For the case study countries, Fiji and the Solomon Islands both have more than 200 separate islands, Tonga has 150, Vanuatu has over 80 and the Cook Islands about 50 (and in all cases these are spread over considerable areas). Although the Solomon Islands has one school for every 600 people, the geographical problems mean that the proportion of children who go to school is less than fifty percent and half of these will not go beyond elementary school. Examinations at year six determine who can enter secondary school and further examinations at year ten determine who will complete year 12. Only one or two percent of the children of any given age will graduate from secondary school. Table 5 indicates the actual numbers of students enrolled in grades 1, 7 and 12.

Table 5: Pacific Island Countries:
Student Numbers

Country	Year	Grade 1	Grade 7	Grade 12	App. retention
Fiji	1986	21,690	15,023	4,539	21.0%
Solomon Islands	1988	9,042	1,526	99	1.1%
Vanuatu	1990	4,372	866	98	2.2%
Tonga	1989	1,889	3,327	988	52.3%
Cook Islands	1989	521	468	111	21.3%

Although one needs to be wary of interpreting these statistics, if we assume that approximately the same number of children are born each year, then Tonga has the best equipped education program of the five countries, whereas the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu have few people emerging from the system who would be capable of taking a leading role in future development activities. Further evidence of these problems can be found in table 6, which considers issues related to the teachers in the case study countries.

Table 6: Pacific Island Countries:
Teacher Information

Country	Student-Teacher Ratio		% trained teachers		Teacher salaries
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	as % of edn. budget
Fiji	1:30	1:17	99.3	83.5	78.1
Solomon Islands	1:23	1:19	50.8	55.0	84.0
Vanuatu	1:30	1:18	96.4	75.0	75.5
Tonga	1:28	1:18	82.0	60.0	76.3
Cook Islands	1:20	1:17	99.0	85.0	79.9

Table 6 indicates that governments already spend a fair proportion of the education budget on teacher salaries and that, although the student teacher ratios are high using western standards, they are nevertheless respectable. The real difficulty for governments, particularly in the Solomon Islands, Tonga and Vanuatu are the

high levels of untrained (ie non-degree) teachers. However, table 7 indicates the proportion of the government budget currently spent on education and shows that these governments may have very little flexibility when it comes to education.

Table 7: Pacific Island Countries:
Proportion of government budget spent on education

Country	Education budget as a proportion of government budget	Year
Fiji	18.7%	1986
Solomon Islands	12.4%	1984
Vanuatu	19.6%	1991
Tonga	10.6%	1990-91
Cook Islands	9.4%	1988-89

With the concerns for health, welfare and the development of many other infrastructure services and facilities, the ability to raise the education budget is constrained. Yet education is critical to the economic, social and environmental development of each of these nations. The overall perspective of formal education in these five countries gives an accurate indication of the adult literacy rates as well. As table 8 indicates, those countries that have a solid commitment to formal education also have high levels of adult literacy and those who are struggling to provide formal education have lower levels.

Table 8: Pacific Island Countries:
Adult Literacy Levels

Country	% of literate adults	Year
Fiji	85.5%	1985
Solomon Islands	51.0%	1980
Vanuatu	52.5%	1985
Tonga	99.6%	1980
Cook Islands	91.6%	1980

Given the particular problems facing the countries in this study, each has established non-formal approaches to the problems. Rural Training Centres have provided an option for young people who previously had none. These are particularly in evidence in Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands, the two countries who have the poorest formal education provision. In 1989 there were 18 RTCs in the Solomon Islands and 12 in Vanuatu. Each was a specialist centre with particular training provided (building construction, wood work, sewing, business management, mechanics, carpentry, agriculture and hand crafts). Some were all male, some were all female and others were mixed. All the Solomon Islands RTCs and 8 in Vanuatu are supported and run by churches. Student numbers vary from 2 to 150 in Vanuatu and from 14 to 178 in the Solomon Islands.

Of particular concern to many countries is the way economic development impinges on the environment. This will vary from country to country depending on the level of economic development they seek to achieve. In the Solomon Islands, the Solomon Islands Development Trust is fighting a rear guard battle against further environmentally destructive forms of development. For the past twenty years, families and communities were paid in return for the logging of their local forests. After a serious depletion of the forest, villagers started to discover that the topsoil had washed away and they could no longer grow the same number of crops. The soil went into the rivers and washed down into the sea. It killed the coral and most of the fish went to

more attractive parts. Twenty years after the logging began, the villagers have lost income (no trees), crops (no topsoil) and protein (no fish). This has caused problems for health as well as the environment as river water is muddied and made less pure. Villagers who have relied upon a cash income now have to find alternative sources of that income. In many cases this has meant the father has moved away from the family home for days, weeks or months at a time. These moves have brought with them a substantial dislocation of family life at the village level. Before development, subsistence living occurred and the majority of the population of the Pacific nations had families living in small communities, in many cases isolated from the mainstream economy by both distance and the time it took for communications to reach their homes. The parents of the family both worked at whatever it was that created the family's level of subsistence (farming, hunting, gathering, fishing, exchanging), whilst at home older children tended to younger siblings. This meant that in the cycle of life the family worked as a team to develop an appropriate standard of living. Now, older children are in school and the mother has to tend any younger children that are still at home. These moves have brought about quite substantial changes to the everyday life of many villagers and many of the changes have brought with them problems that need to be addressed at the village level.

THE ICEA SMALL GRANTS PROGRAM

Issues such as employment, health, education, child care, literacy, the environment, developing a local economy and family and community development have now become important local as well as national issues for many of these nations. These issues can only be dealt with at a village or community level, and need to be dealt with as a total package. In the past, issues have been treated as if they are separate from other aspects of community life, but work in many countries now acknowledges that the factors that help to improve or destroy community life are interlinked. To concentrate one's efforts on one factor does not succeed, because the others are ignored.

For national development to occur without the penalty of the destruction of village life, these issues must be faced at the village level by the villagers themselves. In order to do this, it is imperative that persons or people at the village level are provided with the necessary skills to approach a number of issues at once. The way for this to happen is to introduce a new set of education activities to people at the village level. Not school based imparting of knowledge, because only a limited number have access to this, but the development of the understanding by all members of the community, that the community itself has the ability to resolve these issues. The key to this is community education which accepts the sovereignty of the community over issues with which it must comes to terms.

Since 1975, the International Community Education Association has tried to develop a global approach to the resolution of local issues. With regular newsletters and a conference every four years the Association tried to develop solidarity amongst those who worked in community education. This was helped mightily through the support of the C. S. Mott Foundation in Flint, Michigan, who helped to finance ICEA's activities. The work of the ICEA since that time has helped to develop real communication between those from developed and developing countries, and the benefits to both groups has been immense.

The Small Grants Program is an important practical expression of the fundamental belief that inspires ICEA: the belief that people in their local communities can acquire the confidence, knowledge and skills to meet their needs and solve their problems with a minimum of external support. The Program each year provides a number of small seed grants (each to a maximum of $US 5,000) for award to community education group projects in local communities. The projects selected seek to benefit people who are in some way disadvantaged and address specific areas of community concern such as literacy, health, unemployment, poverty and the environment. It is expected that the applicants will themselves be actively involved in the planning and implementation of their project; that they will obtain additional support from other sources either in cash or in kind (for example voluntary services,

materials, equipment, accommodation); that the project will benefit the local community; that it will continue beyond the life of the grant.

Since 1990, the first year of its operation, the program has awarded 67 grants to projects in Africa, Asia, Europe, Central and South America and the Pacific. The successful grants were chosen from a total of over 300 applications, firstly, because they most closely met the criteria described above and, secondly because they provided as wide a geographical distribution as possible amongst those which met the criteria. Of the 67 grants made world-wide, 10 have been given to communities in the Pacific Region; 1 to a remote aboriginal community in Australia and 9 to communities from the South Pacific Island nations. Brief details of each of the projects are contained in appendix 1.

One of these grants, the Fish Farming Project in Fiji, is an excellent example of how a small amount of seed money and community concern and input can generate economic, social and educational advantages for a local community. In 1990, the project was granted $US 4,714 to establish a fish farm at a local school, the Tagaqe District school. The site to be used for the ponds was a poorly drained area behind the school. Because of the drainage problems, the school oval was usually under water and the mosquito problem was high. The ICEA grant was matched by a further $FJ 4500 given jointly by the Fiji government and community fund raising. In addition, the community had provided free labour to build the ponds. Using the money to purchase the equipment and the original stock of fish, the school developed six fish ponds each with between 600 and 1000 fish. The school harvests each pond in turn and had sells about 300 fish each month to tourists and to local villagers. Tourists came to visit the ponds and feed the fish and the school sold them fish food. The manager of the local hotel, the Naviti, saw tourists visiting the school and commented on the state of the school buildings, which had neither been painted nor repaired since the school was opened. He provided both paint to paint the buildings and two of the hotel carpenters to repair the school fixtures. In the past couple of years, the money raised by the fish farm has been used to purchase school books and requisites but also pigs, goats and chickens, which are tended by the children until they are fully grown when they are resold. The money raised has purchased seeds and tools to establish a community garden. School-owned land across the road from the school site is being used as the next development funded by the money raised from the fish farm. A tree planting program is being started and the community are fully involved in the workings of the school. The children are seen as 'our trees', that need looking after as much as real trees do. The school has become a model school in less than five years and is visited by people from other communities wishing to undertake similar projects. Recently the school conducted an exchange program with students from Japan, funded by the Japanese.

The children now want to come to school, and arrive early to feed the fish (the school bus timetable was changed to allow children to get to school in time). All of the children who completed year eight in 1992 went on to high school in the following year, whereas nationally, only 21% of eligible children are in secondary school. The principal of the school said that the children now want to be at school and that he had observed increased performance on academic work. The ICEA project has provided a source of income for the school, practical lessons in looking after plants and animals, improved academic performances and interest in the school by the children, and far greater interaction between the school and its local community.

The real issues facing the world in the future cannot be neatly contained in boxes and be treated one at a time. Until developing countries have access to similar levels of resources as those of us that are better off, their search for development will continue. If they try to approach the standard of living experienced by the developed countries, we need to fear for the future of the planet. The only way in which the environmental issues and the economic issues can be balanced is for the developed countries to begin a redistribution of their wealth to less wealthy countries. Projects such as the ICEA small grants project demonstrate that much can be achieved with limited resources, if we are prepared to work together. The change in attitude required to enable this is not going to be easy to achieve but it is one of our responsibilities in the coming years to promote a more just and more sustainable view of the world.

Community Youth Gardening, Tonga
$US 4,208 (1990-91)
Project Director: Miss Fanau'ifoa Akauola

The Beloved Youth O Kolomotu'a (BYK) is a community youth group within a district of the city of Nuku'alofa. Their aim in this protect is to expand considerably their existing garden (which currently provides mostly for their own families) to provide food for needy widows, needy parents of young children and underpaid pastors of district churches as well as some income to sustain and further develop this project. In establishing this project they will also be fulfilling the wider aims of the BYK which include creating an awareness of the responsibility of youth to the community; strengthening harmonious ties between youth and the rest of the community; and developing the physical, social and spiritual potential of youth. The grantee is nominated by the BYK and will be responsible for the final report, assisted by the External Secretary of the BYK.

Fish Farming, Fiji
$US 4,714 (1990-91)
Project Director: Vani R. Samuwai

Two schools at Nausorri village and Komave village are the bases for this project which aims to improve the quality of diet for boarding students and to provide cooperative educational opportunities for students, teachers and members of the village communities. The educational objectives for the adult members of these communities include (a) providing a strong link between school and their communities to improve parental support for children's education; (b) improving the relationship between teachers and members of the communities; (c) learning to work with a variety of agencies.

It will be the responsibility of the two communities, in collaboration with the Community Education Service and the Fiji Association of Non Formal Education (FANFE), to ensure the sustainability of this project after the period of the grant. To this end, the grantee is the President of FANFE.

Informal Community Education, Fiji
$US 4,980 (1991-92)
Project Director: Kalioni Taukena

The Saivou Community Education Association serves the Saivou District on the north-eastern side of Viti Levu (the main island). This project is designed to establish programs of informal education for youth and for adults in the five villages of the District. These programs include (a)literacy and numeracy for non-literate adults and those who wish to improve their existing standards; (b) vocational education for small business enterprises for youth groups including carpentry, sewing, light engineering, metal-work and bricklaying; (c)tuition for those students who are preparing for examinations; (d)education in a variety of fields including, for instance, health and nutrition, self-employment projects, arts and crafts, club management skills and resource and information gathering.

The Association is determined to continue to expand this program after the end of the grant period with support from various sources. The local school will continue to provide the base for the programs until a piece of land is acquired in the near future. Teachers, youth workers, church ministers and other volunteers will continue to contribute their services. The Provincial Office, the Education Department, the Methodist Church and the Parents' Association will continue to provide financial and administrative support. Finally, the community itself will continue to raise funds through such activities as bazaars, festivals, collections, donations and 'cent-a-vote cards'.

The Living Library, Solomon Islands
$US 4,720 (1991-92)
Project Director: John Roughan

The parents of Honiara had a dream in 1981 which they turned into reality by 1990. they built their own community kindergarten and primary school for three hundred children with aid from six countries and three NGOs. Now they intend to erect a multi-purpose hall to house a canteen; assembly hall, teachers' conference room and a library.

However, in their culture, books, magazines and newspapers are what you read outside the home. Therefore The Living Library Project aims to transform that type of thinking by ensuring that books, magazines and newspapers enter each of the homes of the school's parents on a regular basis. The parents have, in fact, asked the School Board members to find ways of improving the reading habits of their children and have therefore given their support to this project before it starts. The project will provide a local magazine, a weekly school newsletter, 'comic books' on topical issues and three or four primary-school books on loan each month to each household.

After the end of the grant period, the project will be sustained from existing sources, including the annual school fees and subscriptions to the local magazine. In short, the Living Library will become an integral part of their vision of a community school which contributes to the education of the whole community.

Vocational Education for Deaf Youth, Western Samoa
$US 3,500 (1991-92)
Project Director: Donna Clark

The Loto Taumafai Society for the Disabled in Western Samoa has initiated this project. It is designed to provide vocational education for a group of ten profoundly deaf youths (16-25 years old) by establishing a lawn-mowing and lawn maintenance business which they will be educated and trained to manage and operate. This education will be technological and commercial and will therefore include the essential extension of their skills of communication, literacy and numeracy. The initial phase will be 70% education and 30% operation.

After the initial educational phase, the business will become self-financing and will also provide income for the youth themselves. The other agencies involved are a school and the YMCA which provide tutors, accommodation and administration for the educational program and secure storage for the equipment for the business. The Society will continue to supervise the business until it is firmly and independently established.

Productive Education - Fish farming, Vanuatu:
$US 5,000 (1992-93)
Project Director: Mr William Smith

The Youth Group of Ranwas (population 350) was founded in 1971 and is well organised. The Group has designed this project to provide work in a small business for the large number of unemployed school leavers by educating and training them in nutrition, fishing, management and marketing; and to remedy the lack of fresh meat in local people's diet and contribute to their knowledge of the need for a balanced diet by marketing the fish. Equally, the wider aims of this project are to reduce the urban drift of youth which is weakening the community and to strengthen the community's self-reliance.

The continuity of the project will be ensured by using the profits from the sale of fish not only to raise the incomes of the youth involved and their families but also to finance the project in the future. The Youth Group also intends to use the evidence of the success of this project to approach other organisations for funds for other new projects.

The Utupua Community Centre, Solomon Islands:
$US 450 (1992-93)
Project Director: Kris Kiri

Utupua is a very small island (population 900) in the most remote of the Solomon Islands. With tremendous initiative and determination, in 1991-92, sixty volunteers from the scattered communities of the island have planned, built and organised a Community Centre with a 'training house' that includes workshops and the essential sleeping quarters. To initiate their education and training system they have planned a program designed to attract a group from each of the six widespread villages for a ten-day session six times in the year. These groups will then return to their villages to teach what they have learned. The curriculum comprises sewing-machine operation and maintenance; sewing and pattern-making; nutrition and cooking; and local culture, customs and crafts. All the staff, equipment and materials have been guaranteed but the cost of three essential sewing-machines is beyond their means. This grant will provide them.

The future of the Centre and the program appear to be guaranteed by this community's self-reliance. The stipends of the paid teachers in this and future projects will continue to be paid by the Solomon Island Development Trust. Also they intend to continue to utilise local resources and local volunteers rather than seek other external funding unless, as in this case, it is unavoidable.

Aboriginal Family Health Education, Australia
$US 4,958 (1993-94)
Project Director: Kerry Arabena

The Ngintaka Women's Council (NWC) of Kintore Community (Walungurru) identified the serious health problems of young Aboriginal children (0-4 years) from statistics kept by Alice Springs Hospital. At the same time, they realised that these families felt "helpless and powerless" in the face of the health services because of isolation and racial discrimination. Therefore, this project is designed to educate families, through the mothers, to improve the health of their own children at home, supported by the public services rather than dominated by them. As a result, fewer and fewer children will need evacuation to the hospital with its many consequent harmful effects on the whole family.

The continuity of the project is guaranteed by the support, inter alia, of the Pintupi Homelands Health Service and the Walungurru Community Council. The Commonwealth Department of Health, Housing and Community Service has provided the capital outlay for a Community Kitchen and will continue to finance two part-time workers. Finally, the members of NWC will continue to raise funds by their own activities in order to continue to support this and other projects.

Community Water Supply, Tonga
$US 2,750 (1993-94)
Project Director: Taniela Koloa

The village of Veitongo, located in the Central District of the main island of Tongatapu, has a population of 876 comprising 122 households. The village Water Committee consists mainly of elected members. Having installed a new water tank, it has planned this project to renovate the aged and unhealthy village water distribution system in order to guarantee sufficient clean water for the whole community and to launch an associated health education program.

The project is designed to involve a high degree of community self-reliance and to produce a self-financing system in the long-term. In fact, to help to finance the project initially each household is prepared to contribute T$30.00 immediately; to pay a monthly water fee of T$2.50 per month; and to participate in a range of fund-raising events. Each household is also prepared to contribute labour to the project according to the abilities of each adult family member. By installing water meters in 122 households, one Primary School, two church halls and three churches, the Committee

intends to make the water-supply self-financing and to train families to recognise the importance of maintaining an efficient and healthy water-supply system.

Rural Productive Education, Vanuatu
$US 3,000 (1993-94)
Project Director: Jack Asus

The Marven Rural Training Centre with its classrooms, kitchens, dormitories and staff houses, has been built entirely by the people of the community to serve primary-school leavers in South West Malekula. It aims "to help rural boys and girls (15 to 20 per year) develop the skills, motivation and self-concept to return to their villages to develop their land productively and to develop Christian leadership skills to assist in the improvement of village life". To these ends, the Centre has to raise funds for particular projects such as this one which is focussed on raising livestock and marketing the produce to schools and communities in South West Malekula.

The continuity of the project is guaranteed because it is an integral part of the Centre's continuing program. The Centre finances the continuity of a range of projects in four ways: (a) by income generated from projects; (b) from regular grants and other aid from the Vanuatu Government (including a bull for this project); (c) from occasional grants from external sources such as ICEA; and (d) from the labour and gifts given by the villagers in the area.

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